

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5595
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MONTEVIDEO 0104

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OAS, SHUM, UY, PPDC
SUBJ: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MENDEZ TO PRESIDENT CARTER
REQUESTING SUPPORT FOR URUGUAYAN INVITATION TO OASGA

BUENOS AIRES FOR AMBASSADOR PEZZULLO

REF: MONTEVIDEO 0103

1. SUMMARY: AFTERNOON JANUARY 11 FONMIN ROVIRA GAVE
CHARGE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MENDEZ TO PRESIDENT CARTER
(TEXT BELOW) WHICH SOLICITS PRESIDENT CARTER'S SUPPORT
FOR URUGUAYAN INVITATION TO HOLD VIII ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICAN STATES GENERAL ASSEMBLY (OASGA) IN URUGUAY.
LETTER DOES NOT MENTION PROBLEM OF URUGUAY'S RELATIONS
WITH INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (IAHRC) WHICH
ROVIRA IN LENGTHY DISCUSSION FOLLOWING ITS PRESENTATION
INSISTED IS ENTIRELY SEPARATE ISSUE. IN ASKING MUCH
FROM U.S., LETTER OFFERS LITTLE IN RETURN BEYOND VAGUE
IMPLICATION, BACKED BY ROVIRA'S STRONGER PERSONAL
PRESENTATION, THAT THE REQUEST (AND PRESUMABLY OUR
RESPONSE TO IT) ARE "NOT UNRELATED TO" AN IMPROVEMENT
IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE REMOVAL OF IM-
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PEDIMENTS TO THIS. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO EMBASSY WHY
GOU HAS RATHER SURPRISINGLY CHOSEN TO MAKE THIS
PRESIDENTIAL APPEAL. BUT WHATEVER ITS MOTIVATION,
WE DO NOT BELIEVE LETTER PROVIDES SUFFICIENT GROUNDS
FOR U.S. TO ABANDON OUR DIRECT LINKAGE OF OUR
POSITION ON OASGA INVITATION TO URUGUAY'S POSITION
ON THE IAHRC. DURING DISCUSSION ROVIRA PROFESSED

THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING OF USG POSITION ON INVITATION WAS BASED ON NEWS DESPATCHES. CHARGE GAVE HIM ORAL EXPLANATION OF POSITION WHICH HE ASKED BE GIVEN TO HIM IN WRITING. IF EXPLANATION NOT INCLUDED IN ANY REPLY TO PRESIDENT MENDEZ, REQUEST AIDE MEMOIRE CONTAINING IT BE GIVEN TO GOU HERE OR IN WASHINGTON. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER ROVIRA CALLED ME TO THE MINISTRY THE AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 11 AND GAVE ME A CONFIDENTIAL DIPLOMATIC NOTE WHICH CONTAINED THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MENDEZ TO PRESIDENT CARTER SOLICITING THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORT FOR THE GOU'S INVITATION TO HOLD THE VIII OASGA IN URUGUAY. THE FOLLOWING IS AN EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER (SPANISH TEXT SENT SEPTTEL):

QUOTE. ESTEEMED MR. PRESIDENT:

THE RECENT OFFER FORMULATED BY MY GOVERNMENT TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES THAT THE VIII ORDINARY PERIOD OF SESSIONS OF ITS GENERAL ASSEMBLY TAKE PLACE IN URUGUAY CONSTITUTES FOR ME BOTH SUFFICIENT AND PLEASURABLE REASON TO RENEW THE DIALOGUE WHICH WE INITIATED ON THE OCCASION OF MY VISIT TO YOUR GREAT COUNTRY.

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URUGUAY'S PERMANENT DEDICATION TO HEMISPHERIC MATTERS, THE UNWAVERING SUPPORT WHICH TI HAS ALWAYS GIVEN THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, AND THE DESIRE TO AFFORD THE OPPORTUNITY TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ITS ORGANS, ITS MEMBER STATES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL (OF REPRESENTATION), AND THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA OF THE CONTINENT, SPONTANEOUSLY APPRECIATE WITH TOTAL FREEDOM THE TRUE SITUATION IN URUGUAY, DISTORTED BY MISINFORMATION AND CALUMY, EXPLAIN THE DECISION TO WHICH I REFER.

WHILE COLICITING, MR. PRESIDENT, AS I AM DOING, THE SUPPORT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE OFFER MENTION, I WISH TO EXPRESS TO YOU THAT, NOT UNRELATED TO THIS (OFFER), ARE THE SHARED DESIRE TO REESTABLISH ON A FIRM BASIS THE TRADITIONAL CLOSE URUGUAYAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, AND THE AIM OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE BREAKING-DOWN OF THE OBSTACLES TO THE CONTINUITY OF THESE PAST RELATIONS, THE EXISTANCE OF WHICH YOU POINTED OUT TO ME IN YOUR TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGE OF NOVEMBER 4, 1977.

I BELIEVE, SINCERELY, THAT THE HOLDING
OF THE NEXT ORDINARY PERIOD OF SESSIONS OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN
STATES IN URUGUAY NOT ONLY WOULD BE CONDUCIVE TO
THE OBJECTIVES AND AIMS EXPRESSED (ABOVE), BUT ALSO
WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRENGTHING OF INTER-
AMERICAL RELATIONS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF WHICH THE MOST
PROFOUND DIVERGENCES SHOULD NOT BE AVOIDED BUT RATHER
ELUCIDATED IN THE RELEVANT FORA, WITH COMPLETE FREEDOM,
IN THE ARMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND CONSIDERATION
WHICH TRADITIONALLY HAS CHARACTERIZED (SUCH MEETINGS);
WITH THE SPIRIT, NOT OF PROVOKING STERILE CONFRONTATIONS,
BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, OF SEEKING THE NECESSARY RECIPROCAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MONTEVIDEO 0104

EXDIS

COLLABORATION AND COOPERATION FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT
OF THE COMMON IDEALS WHICH ARE SO DEAR TO US.

I AM CONFIDENT, MR. PRESIDENT,
THAT YOUR EXCELLENT JUDGEMENT AND YOUR GOOD WILL MOST
CONVINCINGLY WILL ENABLE YOU TO SEE THE MERIT WHICH
ATTENDS THE OFFER THAT I HAVE THE HONOR TO COMMENT ON
TO YOU.

I EXTEND TO YOU, AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE NEW YEAR, MY BEST WISHES FOR YOUR PERSONAL
HAPPINESS AND THAT OF YOUR DISTINGUISHED FAMILY, AND
FOR THE SUCCESS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT.

CORDIALLY,
(SIGNED) APARICIO MENDEZ

UNQUOTE

3. AFTER HANDING ME THE NOTE ROVIRA SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE WAS CONFIDENTIAL AND ITS TEXT SHOULD NOT BE PUBLICLY RELEASED, THE GOU HAD NO OBJECTION TO THE USG ACKNOWLEDGING PUBLICLY, IF IT CONFIDENTIAL

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WISHED TO DO SO, THAT MENDEZ HAD WRITTEN PRESIDENT CARTER TO ASK HIS SUPPORT FOR THE URUGUAYAN OASGA INVITATION. THE GOU DID NOT PLAN TO MAKE SUCH A PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BUT WOULD CONFIRM IT IF THE USG DID. I TOLD ROVIRA THAT WE WOULD ADVISE THE GOU IF WE DID MAKE ANY PUBLIC REFERENCE TO THE REQUEST. ACCORDINGLY, IF HE WAS APPROACHED BY THE PRESS ALLEGING ANY USG REFERENCE TO THE REQUEST, WE WOULD APPRECIATE HIS CONSULTING WITH US BEFORE CONFIRMING IT.

4. I THEN, AT ROVIRA'S REQUEST, READ THE LETTER AFTER WHICH WE HAD A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THE POINTS COVERED IN IT, AS WELL AS THE SUBJECT OF THE GOU'S POSITION ON THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (IAHRC). AFTER MUCH CIRCUMLOCUTION, ROVIRA FINALLY MADE CLEAR THAT THE INVITATION IN PARA 2 TO THE OAS "ORGANS" TO OBSERVE THE REAL URUGUAYAN SITUATION MEANT ONLY THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE IAHRC WOULD BE WELCOME TO COME AND PARTICIPATE IN THE OASGA IN URUGUAY, AS THEY HAD IN GRENADA, AND NOT REPEAT NOT THAT THEY WERE BEING INVITED TO VISIT URUGUAY SEPARATELY OR EVEN TO MEET SEPARATELY WITH GOU OFFICIALS IN CONJUNCTION WITH THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE OASGA.

5. ROVIRA INSISTED THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSION THAT THE IAHRC ISSUE WAS ENTIRELY "SEPARATE" FROM THE QUESTION OF THE PASGA AND THAT THE USG SHOULD NOT OPPOSE THE OASGA INVITATION BECAUSE OF URUGUAY'S POSITION ON THE IAHRC. HE URGED THE USG TO ABANDON ITS LINKAGE OF THE TWO QUESTIONS AND TO VIEW THE MENDEZ REQUEST AS AN "OPPORTUNITY" TO FURTHER U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES THROUGH DIALOGUE AT THE OASGA, WHICH COULD INCLUDE A FULL DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS
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SUCH AS THE IAHRC AND URUGUAY'S RELATIONS WITH IT. HE REPEATEDLY CALLED ATTENTION TO PARA THREE OF THE

LETTER WHICH EXPRESSES URUGUAY'S DESIRE TO REESTABLISH ITS TRADITIONAL CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND TO ELIMINATE OBSTACLES TO SUCH RELATIONS, EMPHASIZING THAT THIS DESIRE WAS WHAT MOTIVATED PRESIDENT MENDEZ' REQUEST FOR OUR SUPPORT.

6. I EXPLAINED TO ROVIRA THAT WE FULLY SHARED THIS DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND THAT WE APPRECIATED PRESIDENT MENDEZ ENGAGING IN A CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH OUR PRESIDENT TO THIS END. OUR POSITION ON THE OASGA INVITATION, HOWEVER, WAS NEITHER ANTI-URUGUAYAN NOR A BLIND PURSUIT OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE EXCLUSION OF ALL ELSE. IN OUR VIEW, THE QUESTION OF THE OASGA INVITATION TRANSCENDED HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS AND WENT TO THE HEART OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATES TO ACCEPT FULLY ALL OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS MEMBERS. TO ALLOW A MEMBER STATE SELECTIVELY TO WELCOME THE OASGA WHILE REJECTING, AND EVEN APPEARING TO CHALLENGE THE LEGITIMACY OF, ONE OF THE OAS' INTEGRAL AND MORE IMPORTANT ORGANS (THE IAHRC) WOULD UNDERMINE NOT ONLY THE COMMISSION BUT THE BASIC INTEGRITY OF THE SYSTEM ITSELF. WE COULD NOT PERMIT THIS TO HAPPEN. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAD TAKEN THE POSITION THAT WE COULD NOT FAVORABLE CONSIDER OR EVEN ACQUIESCE IN URUGUAY'S INVITATION UNTIL THE GOU CLARIFIED ITS POSITION ON THE IAHRC AND, SPECIFICALLY, INDICATED THAT THE IAHRC WOULD BE WELCOME TO VISIT URUGUAY IF IT DESIRED TO DO SO. ALTHOUGH THE GOU COULD SEPARATE THE TWO ISSUES OF IT WISHED, THE FACT REMAINED THAT ITS HANDLING OF THE IAHRC DIRECTLY AFFECTED ITS INVITATION TO THE OASGA.

7. AT THIS POINT ROVIRA, STILL INSISTING THAT THE
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IAHRC ISSUE WAS SEPARATE FROM THE OASGA AND NOT ENCOMPASSED BY THE MENDEZ LETTER, VENTURED SOME "PERSONAL" OBSERVATIONS ON THE IAHRC. HE MAINTAINED THAT THE GOU HAD NOT ATTACKED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE IAHRC, BUT RATHER HAD ACCUSED IT OF ACTING ILLEGITIMATELY BY VIOLATING ITS OWN STATUTES (AS INTERPRETED BY THE GOU). HE CONCEDED THAT URUGUAY'S ATTACK ON THE COMMISSION AT THE LAST OASGA HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT IN-TEMPERATE BUT SAID THAT THE GRENADA STATEMENTS SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF A RESPONSE TO THE EQUALLY INTEMPERATE STATEMENTS OF THE VENEZUELAN DELEGATE AT GRENADA. THE GOU, HE SAID, NOT ONLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE IAHRC BUT ALSO ACTIVELY DEALT WITH IT, AND HE HAD ONLY THIS WEEK SENT ANOTHER OFFICIAL

COMMUNICATION TO THE COMMISSION. THE IAHC, HOWEVER,
HAD NOT EVEN RESPONDED TO THE GOU'S EXTENSIVE SEPTEMBER 1977
REPLY TO THE COMMISSION'S MAY 1977 REPORT ON URUGUAY
AND, PARTICULARLY, TO THE APPEAL IN THE CLOSING SENTENCE

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OF THE RESPONSE (PAGE 171) THAT THE IAHC SHOULD
ADMIT THE DEFECTS IN ITS MAY REPORT AND GIVE URUGUAY
THE CONCRETE AND POSITIVE SATISFACTION THAT IT MERI-
TED. IN RESPONSE I OBSERVED THAT ROVIRA APPEARED TO
IMPLY THAT THE GOU'S DIFFERENCES WITH THE IAHC
COULD PROBABLY BE RESOLVED THROUGH RIALOGUE BETWEEN
THE TWO BUT THAT THE BALL WAS IN THE IAHC'S COURT.
ROVIRA REPLIED THAT THIS WAS CORRECT. I ENDED THE
DISCUSSION BY TELLING ROVIRA THAT I WOULD COMMUNICATE
THIS TO THE DEPARTMENT, ALONG WITH THE MENDEZ LETTER
AND HIS EXPLANATION OF ITS CONTENTS.

8. COMMENT: IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US WHETHER THIS RATHER
SURPRISING GOU MOVE REPRESENTS A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO
SAVE AN INITIATIVE THAT THE GOU PERCEIVES TO BE
FLOUNDERING OR IS A CONFIDENT PLAY FROM WHAT IT
BELIEVES IS A STRONG HAND. WE HAVE HAD SOME INDICA-
TIONS IN RECENT DAYS THAT THE FORMER MAY BE THE CASE,
BUT THE VERY PAUCITY OF THE GOU'S OFFER TO
US SUGGESTS THAT IT COULD BE THE LATTER. YET ANOTHER
POSSIBLE EXPLANATION, WHICH CANNOT BE DISCOUNTED,
IS THAT THE GOU SINCERELY BELIEVES THAT IT CAN SOLVE
ITS PROBLEM BY APPEALING DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT CARTER,
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TRADING ON THE GOOD WILL AND UNDERSTANDING WHICH THEY BELIEVE RESULTED FROM THE CARTER-MENDEZ BILATERAL.

9. WHATEVER ITS MOTIVATION, THE MENDEZ LETTER AKS MUCH FROM THE U.S. BUT OFFERS LITTLE IN RETURN BEYOND THE VAGUE IMPLICATION (PARA 3), BACKED UP BY ROVIRA'S STRONGER PERSONAL PRESENTATION, THAT THE REQUEST (AND PRESUMABLY OUR RESPONSE TO IT) ARE "NOT UNRELATED TO" AN IMPROVEMENT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE GOAL OF REMOVING THE IMPEDIMENTS TO HIS. ALTHOUGH THIS IMPLICATION SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED, WE HARDLY CONSIDER IT SUFFICIENT GROUNDS FOR US TO ABANDON OUR DIRECT LINKAGE OF OUR POSITION ON THE OASGA INVITATION TO URUGUAY'S POSITION ON THE IAHC. ACCORDINGLY OUR REPLY, WHILE BEING POSITIVE AND FORTHCOMING WITH REGARD TO SHARING URUGUAY'S DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS, REMOVE OBSTACLES AND CONTINUE DIALOGUE, SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT UNLESS THE GOU SATISFACTORILY DEALS WITH THE PROBLEM OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE IAHC WE CANNOT RESPOND FAVORABLY TO ITS REQUEST FOR SUPPORT.

WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER PROBLEM, ROVIRA'S COMMENTS ON THE STATE OF GOU RELATIONS WITH THE IAHC ARE INTERESTING AND THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH INFORMALLY TO EXPLORE THEM WITH THE COMMISSION. END COMMENT.

10. ACTION REQUESTED: I EXPLAINED OUR POSITION ON THE OASGA INVITATION TO ROVIRA (PARA 6), BECAUSE HE HAD STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE USG WAS "OPPOSED" TO THE URUGUAYAN INVITATION "BECAUSE HE HAD READ THIS IN NEWS DESPATCHES." WHEN I EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT AMBASSADOR ROCA HAD NOT FULLY EXPLAINED OUR POSITION
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IN HIS REPORTS, ROVIRA SAID THAT ROCA HAD NOT. ROVIRA THEREFORE ASKED IF HE COULD HAVE AN AIDE MEMOIRE SPELLING OUT OUR POSITION, AND I AGREED TO TRANSMIT HIS REQUEST TO THE DEPARTMENT. IF THE DEPARTMENT DOES NOT INCLUDE THIS CLARIFICATION OF OUR POSITION IN ANY REPLY TO PRESIDENT MENDEZ, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE EITHER TO GIVE IT TO AMBASSADOR PEREZ CALDAS OR TO SEND THE EMBASSY A STATEMENT FOR TRANSMITTAL TO ROVIRA.

11. FOR BUENOS AIRES: WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR
URGENTLY BRINGING THIS MESSAGE TO THE ATTENTION OF
AMBASSADOR PEZZULLO, WHO MAY WISH TO COMMENT ON IT.
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BUENOS AIRES FOR AMBASSADOR PEZZULLO
TAGS: SHUM, PPDC, UY, OAS
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